1:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

the *umwafi* ordeal who moved, now it is often the man who supposes himself a victim of witchcraft who flies for his life (*vide infra*, pp. 153 ff.); and it is probable that circulation between villages has in this way increased very considerably.

Denying the reality of witchcraft, the British administration ignores the belief in the legitimate use of 'python power' to enforce law and morality, any disputes arising out of this being classed as 'witchcraft'. One case turning on the belief in 'the breath of men' was heard by the District Officer of Tukuyu while we were in the district. The facts, as given us by the District Officer concerned, and by Nyakyusa informants, were as follows:

Mwankuga, a chief, fell sick and one of his sons-in-law, a clerk, advised him to get treatment from the European doctor then investigating tuberculosis in the district. When Mwankuga's junior half-brother heard this he came to Mwankuga, along with others, advised him not to go to a European doctor, and offered to cure him himself. He said that *he* had made Mwankuga ill—'had closed his stomach'—because Mwankuga had refused to make the 'coming out' ceremony for his sons when pressed by his village headmen to do so. Mwankuga's half-brother said 'the country was angry' because of the delay in the 'coming out' ceremony. He insisted that Mwankuga's illness was due to 'the breath' of the whole country, not to the sorcery (*ubutege*) of an individual. Mwankuga acknowledged that he had done wrong in refusing to hold the ceremony, and handed over two cows which his half-brother demanded, receiving in turn medicine, which he drank. Five days later Mwankuga gave his half-brother three more cows which were killed at Mwankuga's homestead and eaten by his people. Then, later on, since he did not recover, and one of his sons for whom the 'coming out' should have been held died, Mwankuga reported the matter to a senior chief, Mwakatumbula, president of the court district in which he lived. Mwakatumbula referred the case to the District Officer, and Mwankuga's half-brother was tried for 'obtaining goods by false pretences', under Section 287 of the Penal Code. The accused denied that he had ever said that he was the cause of Mwankuga's illness, and though the latter brought witnesses, the District Officer found that their testimony was 'not sufficiently reliable to substantiate the charge', and 'that there was no reason to suppose that the accused had acted in bad faith'. He referred the

1:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

case back to Mwakatumbula's court 'for investigation for an offence under Native Law and Custom'. Two points which came out in the examination before the District Officer are significant. First, Mwankuga readily admitted that he had done wrong in delaying the 'coming out' ceremony. He said to the court: 'I did wrong in refusing to hold the *ubusoka*, I did wrong.' Secondly, the court (i.e. the Nyakyusa assessors) specifically inquired whether or not Mwankuga's half-brother had got his share of the meat provided by Mwankuga. It emerged that he had eaten some meat, but the witnesses were not clear as to how much he had got.

When the case came up again before the Native Court the general opinion was: 'The son of the chief has died. They (i.e. the witches) have "eaten" him. The chief himself has been ill because he refused to hold the "coming out" ceremony.'

Two other so-called 'witchcraft' cases came before the District Officer while we were in Tukuyu District. One turned on the use of vengeance magic to collect a debt, the doctor who had supplied the medicines being the accused (see Document, p. 213). The Nyakyusa view that only the individual who has commissioned a doctor to work sorcery on his behalf, and not the doctor himself, is guilty, if death from sorcery (or poisoning) has been proved, is not, of course, accepted by the Administration. In the other case a Sangu doctor told two individuals that they were threatened with 'witchcraft' and got cattle from them in return for his supposed protection. He was expelled from the district (see Document, pp. 258–61).

The difficulties of administration in this field are obvious. No one with a background of western science can admit the reality of witchcraft or 'the breath of men', as defined by the Nyakyusa, or the possibility of discovering truth through the *umtwafi* ordeal. Yet prohibition of the ordeal, when belief in witchcraft is so strong, breeds a sense of insecurity. The only solution is to kill the belief in witchcraft. As we have shown, it is somewhat weakened by elementary education and Christian teaching; and we believe that its disappearance turns on increasing technical control, particularly in the field of disease, on scientific education, and on the development of impersonal relationships.[1]

[1] cf. G. and M. Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change*, pp. 88–95, 102–4.

1:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

account with other villages of the same chiefdom, and forming a detachment under its own headman in the army of the chiefdom. Before an attack each village was harangued by its headman who urged: 'Keep all your spears together. If you abandon your fellow you have a case against you! All return together!' And, as we have seen, it was held that men of the same village should stand shoulder to shoulder in war and in a hunt, that they might be brave.

Cattle raids and adultery cases were the prime causes of war—fighting commonly began with a dispute over a woman, or lust for meat. Less frequently it was a quarrel between two villages or two chiefdoms over a boundary that led to war. Hostilities often flared up at a funeral when men danced the war dance with spears (*ukukina*). The Nyakyusa interpret this dancing at funerals as an expression of anger at death, a protest against death.[1] 'Formerly we protested against death, we said: "Our fellow has died, *aje!* Let us put our friend to rest!" We protested with war, we protested with spears, and people died.' Or as another informant put it, 'The war dance is a way of weeping. We dance the war dance because war is in our hearts.' But the anger at death very easily merged into anger against human enemies. 'If the men of two chiefdoms or two villages were present at a burial they would quarrel and fight. The fight began when one hurled his spear into the ground and thus spewed the earth over someone else. Perhaps there would be only a few dancing at first and many sitting down, but when a neighbouring chief was seen approaching with his men, and the sound of the trumpets was heard, those already there would say: "If we sit still they will say there are no men but only women at this funeral. Let us dance too." So they would all get up and dance, and if the others did anything there would be war. Now the custom of the war dance is dying out. We chiefs control it, and when another chief comes to a funeral we tell all our men to sit down while he and his men dance at the grave, because if we do not, the war of old times is liable to break out.'

In fact peace has been effectively enforced among the Nyakyusa.[2] We neither saw nor heard of a fight in the three years we were there. Thus mutual dependence in war is no longer a strong sanction for village unity. The joint responsibility for certain

[1] *cf.* Godfrey Wilson, 'Nyakyusa Conventions of Burial', *Bantu Studies*, Vol. XIII (1939.)

[2] A contrast to Pondoland or Zululand.

1:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

torts committed by its members has also disappeared. Instead, there is both a great increase in the number of cases treated as offences against the state; murder, manslaughter and grievous bodily injury being no longer treated as offences against a group of kin, but as crimes against the state; and a great extension in the *range* of law. A modern Nyakyusa has no difficulty in suing a debtor, or the seducer of his wife, living in another chiefdom.

Nevertheless neighbours still feel a certain obligation for the maintenance of each other's rights. For example, a certain young man eloped with a very young girl, who, though betrothed, had not yet reached puberty. On their way out of the district they were seen by a 'village father' of the girl, who brought them back to her father, and then joined with him and other neighbours in beating the young man and taking him to the chief. The youth admitted his fault in seducing so young a girl and asked the chief to summon his father-in-law (for he was already married) that he might borrow from his father-in-law the cattle with which to pay the fine for seduction. But his father-in-law was a neighbour of the father of the girl he had seduced, and he refused to lend any cattle, saying, 'You have run off with the daughter of my neighbour in the village: that means you have wronged *me*.'

And a group of herd-boys are still liable to be treated by their fathers as responsible for one another. One informant, discussing a case of bestiality committed by a herd-boy, remarked that the leader of the group forbade the others to mention it at home on the ground that 'if our fathers know they will say that we all (in this herd group) do it.'

d. Social separation

One of the mechanisms for maintaining good relations in Nyakyusa villages (as in all groups) is the separation of the dissident individual from the group.[1] This separation may be compulsory or voluntary. As we have seen, witches, thieves, adulterers, and obstinate debtors were formerly banished from Nyakyusa villages because they were regarded as a danger to their neighbours, liable to harm them directly or to bring retribution upon them. The village, being held responsible for certain actions of its members, and forming a defensive unit against the sup-

[1] cf. G. and M. Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change*, pp. 60–1.

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No.	Category of Sufferer	Symptoms	Alleged sin	Diagnosis	Ritual performed
1	Village headman (Mwambwyeno)	(a) 2 children died (b) Further deaths among his children after he moved	Grudged neighbours certain food Failed to perform death ritual of children before leaving		Fled to Lake-shore plain (Mu Nyendo) Returned home. Killed bull. Admitted fault in not performing ritual
2	Widow	Widow ailing	Ritual not performed for her ex husband's	Illness due to 'the breath of men'. Diagnosis by divination	Bull killed hoof. Feasted neighbours and relatives. Told of illness. People admitted their anger.[1] Said the illness was finished. The sentiment is
3	Widow	Widow ill	Pair of chief's family had not killed bull or ox at subsidiary ritual	Illness due to 'the breath of men' Diagnosis by divination	Ox killed neighbours and relatives killed. Neighbours admitted their anger
4	Exwife	Exwife ill	Father failed to send a gift of food and beer, when she was taken back to her husband, and she is the daughter of a chief's sister	'The breath' came from her husband's friends. 'They are angry because of the gourd you took'	Rites mentioned. The girl died shortly afterwards and her death was attributed to sorcery —
5	Child	I.S.1	Refused to hold 'evening out' of corn	'The country was angry'	Killed 3 cows for people to feast
6	Married woman	Does no more children	Run off with lover three times. Finally baptized (saved) lover to run with	His father's village 'shocked' because she had 'killed a man by death'. 'Breath' of village affairs because she visits them frequently to see a grandparent. Diviner diagnosis of the father in whose village she went for medicine that she might bear children	Rites mentioned
7	Man (a diviner)	Begotten no child for 10 years	Did not come to bury elder brother with whom he had quarrelled	'The sun (of his elder brother's village) was angry. Illness due to the same (disease) of sun'	Killed a cow in elder brother's village but did not kill the cow of the village about to properly (i.e. which he had had)
8	Man (A)	Man (1) for 2 years (still childless), eye came out of socket	Incest—man knew of father's sister	All men were astonished and cursed A	A killed 4 cows at father's place. Relatives and neighbours ate after cursing at him. A recovered quickly. (He had also been treated in a mission hospital.)

[1] Ukudjaja = to complain. The implication is that they repented, and so got rid of, their anger (cf. pp. 99–101).

[p.206]

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[P.207]

(b) "The Church of Rev."—contd. SUSPICIONS ATTACHED TO MYSTICAL CAUSES—contd.

No.	Category of Sufferer	Symptoms	Alleged Cause	Diagnosis	Ritual performed
9	Native Village Headman	Paralysed	His encouraged child to report [illegible] from country where father resident in low road	"Cause of native headman dies in the bounds of his native village. He was cursed because he was opposed to be the successor of the chief." Diagnosis by divination	Salt and fowl provided for [illegible] headman, and said fowls with water treatment and cured thereby
10	Woman	Unable to walk	Told by villagers (neighbours) to choose fish of the brothers. Refused to do so, asking them to choose	"They (villagers) cursed her"	Bathing and fowl. Thought that after she will have conception after bathing to be cure and thinks it effected a cure
11	Woman	Her baby ill	Insulted husband's mother	Divine Diagnosed as "ogwuru," a disease due to "the bounds of man" By divination, "same diagnosed"	Woman and child given medicines by a diviner. Woman's father brought a cock for the mother-in-law to kill behind.
12	Headman of young men	Ill a long time and still ill	He and his young men both in the village of [illegible] before Church had formed	Divine due to "the bounds of man" (the following because he would contribute often as headman by building in the village. Diagnosis by divination	Ill. Should have asked old men to have him
13	Both (men)	Ill a year. Died six week prior	Old son (Chief Ishiguro's former) kept by father's village. Others are the most	Village angry. Their bounds fell on him while he lived in both every pleasantly. Diagnosis by divination	After a year's illness killed a bull, the usual rituals and ceremonies in father's village
14	Man	Died	Killed large bull for his children (sons). Not to slaughtered and given away one leg to neighbours	"Perhaps the chief because he privileged his fellow villagers more. Suggestions are received if a man kills and does not eat them to feast"	
15	Woman	Her child ill	Refuse on her husband	Divine Diagnosed as ogwuru (as Divine due to "the bounds of man"). Diagnosis by divination	Admission of sin. Woman (mother) gave her mother-in-law two fowls. Ex-husband called his fathers-in-law and whole village eaten and spread around the child's doorway (cf. p. 206)
16	Younger brother of chief	Died	Claimed to be a child	People said "bounds of man". Family said witchcraft. Diagnosis by divination	

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(b) *'The Breath of Men.'* contd. MISFORTUNES ATTRIBUTED TO MYSTICAL CAUSES—contd.

No.	Category of Sufferer	Symptoms	Alleged sin	Diagnosis	Ritual performed
17	Village headman	Hurt his hand on a stone directly he reached the fields to work	Had left for work without the agreement of his people	'Country was angry because he was a headman' (and had gone to work)	Rites (but shortly afterwards [illegible] performed by headman of Ashiri section (cf. cases of misfortune Nos. 20)
18	Young child Mwanbaga, heir of his deceased senior brother and, as rule, to chiefdom	Did not beget a son by his betrothed wives	Not specified	Village headmen angry at candidature (did not inherit chiefdom). The headmen showed their anger by not taking chief to doctor as they should have done. He went alone	None when case recorded
19	Kanikle, hereditary priest (of chief's lineage)	Kanikle ill	Did not work for his village neighbours. 'They complained, because I, a great chief, did not work hard for them'	Fell ill night after attending a beer drink at a neighbour's house	Practised neighbours. Treated by a doctor
20	Kanikle	Kanikle had women	Provided 1 pot of beer for fellow priests when he should have provided 4 pots or a calf	Sickness due to wrath of men. Diagnosis of a doctor	
21	Kanikle	Kanikle ill	Cut down a sacred tree which he should not have cut	'The whole country is angry'. 'Priests and village headmen are angry'	Practised other priests as usual and beer
22	Village headman, Ritsio	His son drowned	Ordered to pay a fine for shooting an ostrich, and refused. Complained to the District Officer	'All the village headmen are angry'	Rites omitted. Later brought home (cf. pp. 205-6)
23	Man (junior brother of chief)	Died	He had cut one branch for an axe-handle" from a self-sown tree growing in the cultivated land of a village in which he was a new comer. He had not asked the villagers' permission to cut wood as he should have done.	'The "creepers" of the village were angry and killed him'	None recorded

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No.	Category of Sufferer	Misfortune	Alleged sin	Category of individual or group believed to have called down a curse
1	Ex-schoolboy	Cannot get a job	Disobeyed his Nyakyusa teacher	Teacher
2	Ex-schoolboy	Dismissed from government job. Roams on lorries. Unemployed	Sent to boarding school with mission money, then refused to work for mission. Later married 10 wives. He also stole	The congregation
3	Teacher, son of elder	Eaten by a crocodile (seven years after stealing)	Committed adultery with daughter of elder. Spoke against the church	The congregation
4	Son of elder	Died of venereal disease	Committed adultery	The congregation
5	Pagan man	Died	Refused food to travelling Christian elder	The elder
6	Mohammedan man	Cut his leg with his hoe	Hoed on Sunday	Two Christian men
7	Ex-schoolboy	Always lost his job, though clever and good English speaker. Now a fisherman and 'talks English to the fish'	Not known	European missionary
8	Ex-boarding schoolboy	Cannot get a job. 'Just having the unashamed people'	Eloped with a girl betrothed to a fellow Christian	European missionary
9	Christian woman	Paralysed for sixteen years	Took an unfair share of meat at feasts	Christian neighbours
10	Man-servant of missionary	Married several times. Each time wife died	Grumbled to missionary's children and sat at table pretending to write with his pen	European missionary
11	Rich man	Property disappeared	Caught with a woman and denied having committed adultery	European missionary (said to have uttered a conditional curse: 'If you are lying all your property will disappear')
12	Woman	Became a wanderer	Stole things from loft of mother-in-law's hut. Destroyed husband and complained of him to neighbours. Asked for divorce	European missionary
13	Young man, newly married	Did not beget a child	Did not make a wedding feast for his neighbours in Christian village	Christian neighbours (complaining they had eaten no meat). Young man's [illegible] 'ordered' [illegible] of divorce and this was the diagnosis

[p.209]

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1. Wilson E-3 (1934-1938) 1951 FN17 Nyanda FN17 Nyakyusa

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

775 828 and appearance—the mind of a child is tenacious. If one comes whom I never knew, I note his appearance in the dream and next day I tell my friends and relatives about it. Then perhaps an old woman, my grandmother, will say: 'That is how So-and-so used to look.' Perhaps I dream of someone wearing brass body-rings, with a plume nodding on his head. Then the older ones know him and tell me it is So-and-so. In the old days, in the days of our mothers, if we dreamed of eating food like this my relatives would say: 'They have come to fetch him; he will get disease and die soon; he has eaten the food of the shades.'
778 828 177 But in European times now it is different. . . . Our mothers fear such dreams; there is a medicine to put on the walls. If I always dream like this they bring it and say: 'It's forbidden to dream of the shades.'

Quarrow: And now?

Kenyo: Now if dreams come true we say that the man who had dreamed is a prophet.

828 Quarrow: Are all dreams pregnant with trouble?

Kenyo: Yes, dreams usually mean trouble. Suppose I love a girl and want to marry her, and then I dream of marriage, of having the cattle and going and being accepted by her fathers who are all present [in the dream], then I rejoice and I hope.[1] Then I begin to think of going to earn the cattle, and I go to work and come back with three or four cattle and go to hand over the marriage-cattle. All ends happily, but it might not. Perhaps they will accept me, perhaps not.

At work I dream that a sister has died, and I find it is true, then I think other dreams will be true, . . . I fear that perhaps my death is near. I go to a doctor and say I want a medicine, he gives me some to put under my head and sleep on. He grinds a medicine and tell me to sprinkle it in the room.

775 828 It is generally agreed that dreams of the dead are not welcomed:

If I speak of the recently dead others will say: 'Don't speak of them, they are dead.' Then I take a coal from the fire and say: 'Do not come in dreams.' If the shade comes it always means trouble.

Are not the only occasions of prayer to the shades are when men are in trouble and anticipate misfortune.

We never pray except when there is trouble. No, we never pray to give thanks. Why should we? There is nothing to grumble at!

● 673 753 777 (c) *Belief and behaviour*

In the Nyakyusa view there is a direct and immediate link between misfortune and wrong-doing. When illness befalls a man,

[1] Kenyo's father delayed long in providing him with marriage-cattle. The following year he eloped with a girl.

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

or his crops fail, or his cattle die, he reflects on any quarrels he may have had with kinsmen or affines or neighbours, and on any rituals he should have performed and has omitted wholly or in part. He may be quite clear in his own mind that the misfortune is due to some particular wrong-doing (*inengwa*)—perhaps a quarrel with a brother, or neglect to kill for his new neighbours on his inheritance from his father—and proceed directly to patch up the quarrel and perform the neglected ritual. More often he thinks of several possible causes and lays them before the oracle, relying upon it to select between them. How several possible causes of misfortune occurred to the chief sufferers, their kinsmen and neighbours, is shown in the cases of Enesi, Katanya, Mwambuputa and Mpoma quoted at the end of the book (pp. 258 ff.).

No linguistic distinction is made between an offence punished by the courts and one thought to be punished by the shades; both are wrong-doings (*inengwa*), and there is no sharp distinction between an offence against a living kinsman and an offence against a dead one. In short, there is no clear conception of 'sin' as opposed to 'tort' or 'crime'.

There are two themes constantly recurring in Nyakyusa theology: firstly, men must observe the traditional rituals (both positive and negative) or they will go mad; and secondly, the anger of senior relatives and neighbours will injure unless it is confessed and goodwill expressed.

The first conception is a magical one:[1] what is required is the performance or avoidance of particular acts in a particular form on particular occasions; the second is sacramental, it is 'anger in the heart' that is dangerous, and no ritual is held to be efficacious without a change of heart.

Often the two conceptions are not consciously related to one another: again and again one is told: 'The rituals must be performed or men will go mad,' and there is no reference to the state of mind of the performers; but on certain occasions they overlap explicitly, as when Kasitile adjured his kinsmen to confess all while they were performing the ritual to 'rot the ropes'; and always there is a symbolic connection, for the rituals themselves express the value of amity between kinsmen, of respect for seniors and obligation towards juniors.

The neglect of the marriage ritual is itself an expression of disrespect for parents or parents-in-law, and a breach of the sex code,

[1] In the sense defined by G. & M. Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change*, pp. 89-95.

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

[585] of which the basic rule is the separation of the reproductive 834 activities of successive generations.

> If my wife goes to the inner part of my mother's house, it is a wrong. Perhaps she will bear a thin and sickly child. She has gone to the inner part of her in-law's house and my mother is angry with her for going where my father goes. Perhaps, when she is first pregnant, my wife goes to the back of her own mother's house. That is a wrong, too. Perhaps she will have a difficult labour. The trouble in both cases comes from the anger of the elders, my mother's in the first case, her mother's in the second. It is said that if my wives have seen my father by inheritance, then, when I die, the fathers who are dead will not receive me because I have injured ('kept back') their younger brother. I think, for my part, that the pagans honour this custom [of avoidance] very much because they say that the shades will be angry if it is neglected.

775 673 578 681 Apart from the neglect of rituals, the types of behaviour commonly believed to be directly punished by the shades are (1) quarrels between father and son or between brothers, turning on the seduction of a senior's wife by his junior, on the sharing of marriage-cattle or, nowadays, on the sharing of the earnings of a young man working for wages, or on his seduction of women which necessitates the payment of fines by his father; (2) quarrels between father and daughter or father-in-law and son-in-law turning on the handing over of marriage-cattle by the son-in-law and the provision of gifts for his daughter by the father; (3) quarrels between husband and wife; (4) quarrels between relatives of all sorts over failure to attend, or to invite to, rituals; and (5) the neglect of his wards by the heir.

578 775 Cases of family quarrels over seduction leading to misfortune have already been quoted (pp. 134–5; 187–8). One concerning cattle and earnings was cited by Mwakwelebeja. A young man, X., went out to work and left the cattle he earned with his elder full brother. When he married he took all these cattle and gave them to his father-in-law. His elder brother was very angry. X. said: 'I take all the cattle for you have never given me any of yours.' His brother replied: 'How could I give you cows? I have no children.' Then all the cattle X. had given to his father-in-law died and had to be replaced. 'The shades were angry because when the younger brother took the cows his elder brother complained very much.' And if a young man goes out to work and gives his father no share of his earnings the shades are angry: 'Perhaps I will fall ill; perhaps when I look for work I shall not

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

577 777 556 There is much more talk among the Nyakyusa of misfortune from the shades or the anger of neighbours, than of blessing, but there is an idea, somewhat vague but real, that generosity and kindliness will bring blessing (*ulusaje*). Ambilikile, a Christian teacher who had grown up in a pagan home, said:

> My mother tells me that my father was in the habit of feeding people, those who were not his relatives. People went to a distance and brought medicines for fertility and gave them to him, hence they said: 'He is very kind; food never grows short at his home.' She also told me that my father died very old. He did not die of disease, but of old age, no breath being left in him. This was because men were always saying: 'May they stand by him, may they bless him (*bammwemulege, bamsajege*),' not to his face but to others. They said that he lived long because of the blessing of men. Yes, they say that the food of a kindly man never gets finished, that of a stingy man finishes; he himself suffers hunger.

763 Mwaisumo described a father on his death-bed blessing a favourite son, allocating cattle to him, and telling him:

> Care for the children I have left, keep on good terms with them, then you will be rich in everything like your father. I cared for my children, I was not harsh (*akali*), so complain to me of anything that troubles you. If you are like this the property in your home will be plentiful, people will be astonished and say: 'He is like his father.'

431 775 Of a man given a cow by the chief, it was sometimes said: 'The shades have blessed him; he has a righteous (*agolofu*) shade.'

754 673 621 Although our Nyakyusa informants talked a great deal about the danger of neglecting rituals and angering senior relatives, living and dead, the number of cases of misfortune attributed to their anger is small in comparison with the number attributed to witchcraft or 'the breath of men'. (Ten as compared with sixty-three.) There is no reason to suppose that one type of case was concealed when the others were reported to us, and it is clear that the Nyakyusa prefer to make neighbours in the age-village, rather than kinsmen, the scapegoat for their misfortunes. Even when the wrong done is against a kinsman it is often the neighbours, rather than the shades, who are said to have brought punishment on the wrong-doer.

777 621 At the same time, we were assured by one informant after another that people blame the shades or Kyala for misfortune when it is really the neighbours who are responsible! Angombwike argued that men fear to accuse the neighbours, who are slow to

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

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MISFORTUNES ATTRIBUTED TO SHADES

Ref.	*Category of sufferer*	*Misfortune*	*Category of shade*	*Alleged sin*	*Investigation*	*Ritual performed*
1.	Man. Kataaya	(a) Crops did not grow (b) Kataaya died	'Abapasi'	Quarrelling with kinsmen	Autopsy disproved this. Found to be sorcery	Killed a bull for family
2.	Children of village headman	Death of several children	Father of village headman	Village headman moved to father's homestead though told by father's neighbours he should remain in young man's village where he was headman	Autopsy	Prayer
3.	Cattle	Cattle died at father-in-law's (and would have to be replaced)	Shades were angry. His brother complained very much when he took all the cattle	Younger brother took all cattle he had from elder full brother to whom they had been handed on his return from work, and gave them for his marriage	—	—
4.	Two girls	Girls died	—	A wrong (*isongwe*) not specified	Autopsy Divination	—
5.	Younger brother	Died	Elder brother	Elder brother not buried where he asked to be	Divination	Buried where elder brother had asked

Ref.	*Category of sufferer*	*Misfortune*	*Category of shade*	*Alleged sin*	*Investigation*	*Ritual performed*
6.	Son	Millet crop cultivated by son failed	Father	Had moved from father's homestead. Left grave unswept	Divination	Prayer
7.	Husband	No fish in traps	—	Stinted one wife of fish	Divination	Prayed in banana grove. Wife confessed her anger
8.	Kasitile	Kasitile fell ill	Mother	Neglected to leave flour or beer in his hut for shades	Divination	—
9.	Married woman (wife of Mwakobele)	Woman delirious		Her newly-married daughter returned from husband without bringing a hen or anything, and drank from mother's calabash cup	Divination	—
10.	Child	Death of child	Father's sister?	Father neglected death ritual of his sister	Autopsy. 'The ritual entered the stomach of the child'	Neglected death ritual performed

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3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
FN17 Ngonde FN17

residence there, I never locked my doors, and the only theft of which I had to complain was the pendulum of a clock taken from an open building!

Murder.—Murder is, from the native point of view, a much less serious crime than cattle stealing. But it should be remembered that British law calls crimes murder which are not so called by the Konde. A man who kills his wife's paramour has not committed murder: he has exacted a just revenge, and no more. In a case of real murder, the murderer or his friends usually pay a fine, or rather a compensation, of up to ten head of cattle; and the loss to the family of the murdered man is further made good by the other family handing over a daughter. This girl must never be spoken of as a substitute, for that would cause her children, when she has them, to die. It is needless to add that under British law compensation of any kind to the family of the murdered person does not acquit the murderer. What follows, therefore, is purely native law, which, if administered at all, is administered only when there is reason to believe that the police will never come to hear of it.

When a murder was committed, the chief directed the friends of the murderer to bring him for trial, but if they chose to put him to death themselves, the case was ended. Should it be impossible to discover the murderer, a friend of his, it hardly mattered who, was put to death, and a wide-extending vendetta might be the result. When the law is satisfied, a formal reconciliation between the two families takes place. Under the guidance of the medicine man, who is

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
FN17 Ngonde FN17

627 783 master of ceremonies on all such occasions, a sheep, provided by the family of the murderer, is killed, and taken hold of by the parties, while the doctor divides the carcase into two parts, each side taking its share. Medicine is poured into a pot, and a red-hot spear is plunged into it. The carcase of the sheep, cooked with this medicine, is placed upon banana leaves, and the feast of reconciliation is partaken of, along with beer which also has been doctored. The reconciliation, however, is not complete until the girl has been handed over: until that is done, the feast has only stayed action on the part of the murdered man's relatives. If the murderer is not known, the relatives of the victim drink a medicine, without which, if they happened unwittingly to drink water in the culprit's house, they would themselves also die.

683 ●673 The murder of a pregnant woman is a very serious matter, for it is really a double murder, and the chief has to be compensated for the loss of dependents. It is more heinous to murder a woman than a man, for the woman, being dead, bears no more children, and loss to the community results.

682 672 For accidental death there are numerous regulations. If a man dies, or is killed, while in the employment of another, or on a journey with him, compensation must be paid to the relatives. There is no feast of reconciliation, for the thing was not done in malice. When a person is killed by an ox or a cow, the owner pays a cow, and kills the offending animal, lest it lead him into further trouble and expense of the same kind. If one is cutting down a tree, and some one is killed by

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
FN17 Ngonde FN17

776 understand that the chief desire of the people is to induce Him to go away again. "Go far hence, O God, to the Sango, for Thy House is very large," is a prayer which is not seldom heard, when it is believed [821] that He is near. An eclipse is a special visitation, and is met with wild drumming and shouting, confession of sins, and entreaties, for the consciousness of sin is by no means absent from their minds. Offerings are brought to the spirits to induce them to intercede, but no offerings are made to *Ndorombwike* Himself, for nothing can be offered that has any value for Him. "God is calling in the waterfall," "God has kindled a fire in the pool," are cries of dread alarm to this day, only in a small degree comparable to the fear that is inspired when it is declared that a spirit, of however great a man, is angry. God is an ever present terror, and the idea of communion with Him for any purpose, is one that has not entered the Konde mind. He is *Tenende*, the Owner of the world, and it is for men to see that He is not offended. Of the many sins [673] which bring the wrath of God and the spirits on the community, the most important are widespread sexual sin, and neglect of sacrifices.

And yet God is *Tata Twesa*, the Father of us all, from whom help may be expected when men deserve it. The remarkable incident of the floating of the *Domira*, referred to in Chapter I, bears its own evidence of native thinking about the Deity. "Then I said, Rejoice, for God has heard my prayers." It does not seem open to reasonable doubt that Chungu was casting himself upon unseen powers, making, in

8:Wilson E-5 (1934-1936) 1936 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

ever made to the spirits, but when some member of a family or his wife or child falls sick the anger of the spirits is often suspected as a possible cause. There are usually other reasons suspected as well, and so the sickness is taken to a diviner for diagnosis. Various causes are suggested to the diviner and he selects one among them. If the anger of the spirits is selected then this senior kinsman must pray for the one who is sick, if he is to recover. When half-brothers live at a distance from one another, after their father and his brothers have died, then each may pray to the spirits to cure a little sickness in his own family but if the sickness persists then a message must be sent to the senior kinsman. And, as the anger of the spirits is due to wrong doing, the sinner must reform his ways as well.

The wrongs which rouse the spirits to anger are usually breaches of family morality. If a son does not respect his father or insults him, if an heir neglects to feed and provide for the dead man's children, then when sickness falls on him or his own children it will probably be traced to the anger of the spirits at his behaviour.

Space does not allow any full analysis of religion in family life and in the relationships of kinsmen and affines. Not only the ancestor cult but witchcraft and magic are factors in them. A man's neglect of a wife or his cruelty to her may, it is believed, lead to his falling sick through her witchcraft and that of sympathetic neighbours; his relations with his father-in-law are affected by the fear that if he offends him, his father-in-law may, by magical means, kill his children, and so on.

Wider kinship groupings than the family gather at ceremonies and are recognised in the rules against incest. But there are no clans; there is no descent group continuous down the generations with a common name and definite membership. Each individual family has its own penumbra of kinsfolk, the effective kindred of a man and his son, or of two half-brothers are not all the same, while each single person is especially related by respect, affection and mutual obligations to particular kinsmen beyond his own family. Descent, [illegible] have seen, is patrilineal except in the case of illegitimate children. A man asked for his *ekekulo* always recites first the names of his paternal forbears as far as he can remember. But if he is related through mother or grandmother to a chief he usually volunteers this fact as part of his *ekekulo*; and questions always elicit some knowledge of his mother's paternal kinsfolk and a statement that "they are my *ekekulo* too." Descendants of a common grandfather (either paternal or maternal) are to-day forbidden to marry, and no case of infringment has come to my notice; descendants of a common great-grandfather are supposed not to marry but, I am told,